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ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
American Academy of Political and Social
Science

Philadelphia, April 19 and 20, 1907.

The Annual Meeting covered four consecutive sessions, held in the afternoons and evenings of April 19th and 20th, in the Witherspoon Hall, with the exception of the second session on the evening of Friday, April 19, at which the addresses of welcome to Ambassador Bryce and the annual address by Senator Beveridge were given, and the Horticultural Hall, crowded to its utmost capacity of 1,500 or more, was used.

The leading papers of all the sessions are printed in full in the *THE ANNALS* of the Academy for July, 1907. The thanks of the members of the Academy are due to the committee on program; the local reception committee, of which Mr. Joseph Wharton was chairman; to the standing committee on Reception Meetings, of which Mrs. Charles Custis Harrison is chairman; to the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia, which extended to the members and visiting guests all the privileges of its handsome club house; to Provost and Mrs. Charles Custis Harrison, who extended the hospitality of their home to the speakers on the program, and to Hon. William H. Taft, Secretary of War, and General Clarence R. Edwards, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, who, next to President Roosevelt, took a keen personal interest in the meeting, and at his suggestion rendered valuable aid to the committee on program.

The following is the text of the briefer addresses of Hon. Charles Emory Smith, who introduced the British Ambassador, Right Hon. James Bryce, as the permanent honorary chairman of the Annual Meeting, and conveyed to him the greetings of the Academy; of Professor James T. Young and Professor Carl Kelsey, who each presided at one of the sessions of the Annual Meeting; of the acting president of the Academy, Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay, and of Hon. E. W. Lord, Assistant Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, who was in attendance, and at the request of Professor Lindsay, former Commissioner of Education in Porto Rico, took part in the session and added an informal statement to the discussion of the educational program, giving some account of his Porto Rican work:

PROFESSOR JAMES T. YOUNG.

Ladies and Gentlemen: The colonial problems now confronting the United States are totally different from those which we expected in 1898. At that time our attention was concentrated upon the political salvation of the island peoples. The addresses of the commanding officers of our armies to the people of the islands dwell upon political liberty. The documents which have come down to us from the Philippine Republic of Aguinaldo and Mabino are concerned with the rights of self-government. The presidential campaigns in the United States, so far as they touch upon colonial questions, have been discussions of our Declaration of Independence as applied to the tropics. The anti-imperialistic propaganda which rose, subsided and disappeared within five short years from the close of the Spanish War, has left us with nothing but a few pamphlets on the right of all peoples to govern themselves. Even the annual messages of our Presidents have at times treated the Philippine and Porto Rican problems of the day primarily as political questions, that is, as problems of suffrage, of colonial independence or local self-government.

The distinctly political view of the situation has now passed away and on the occasion of this, the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Academy, we are concerned most of all with the *economic and social* reconstruction of the dependencies. To preach political rights as the solution to our colonial problems would now be a mockery. So long as we have only a tithe of the magnificent mineral and agricultural resources of our island dependencies developed to their proper capacity, so long as there exists but a fraction of the necessary means of communication which should be established, and the whole system of industrial and technical education is still in its infancy, just so long must the American colonial policy be primarily one of economic construction and development. To speak plainly, we must first of all uncork the bottled-up resources of the islands. We must sweep away, root and branch, the obstacles to the natural development of these great productive sections of the national domain. We must teach their peoples how to produce and sell those things which the world needs. For by so doing we shall develop in them that economic self-respect and that spirit of social progress which are the foundation of all political liberty. There is no reason why a man should vote before he can earn his living. Is it otherwise with a nation? The present problems of the American dependencies are therefore at bottom economic and social in character. And so it has come to pass that we Americans went into the Spanish tropics as the political champions of oppressed peoples, with the Declaration of Independence in one hand, the United States Constitution in the other and something of a halo round our heads, but we have folded up the Declaration for possible future use and laid aside our halo to settle down to the business task of building railroads, introducing law and order, putting up telegraph poles, settling people on the farms, studying the possibilities of the soil, developing new crops, digging harbors, paving streets, suppressing disease and building school houses. We went to the tropics to preach political liberty and we have remained to work.

When, therefore, the Annual Meeting Committee prepared the program

for these sessions it was arranged to bring before you for discussion, not the old threshed-over political issues of 1900, but the live, active, stimulating work of the present time,—the work which is making our dependencies.

HON. CHARLES EMORY SMITH.

Ladies and Gentlemen: This is the second session of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Political Science. The general topic of discussion at this meeting is the American Colonial Policy, and that is the particular topic of this evening. The American people did not designedly enter upon the colonial system. Without any ambition in that direction, without premeditation, we suddenly found ourselves face to face with the fact almost before we knew it. Without any preconceived purpose on our part the Spanish War placed us in possession of Porto Rico and the Philippines. These acquisitions were the legacy of the stand we took for humanity. They could not be incorporated into our political system of states. They had to be treated as dependencies, and so the colonial annex to our political structure becomes inevitable.

We did not seek it, but we need not regret it. Frequent expansion has been the distinguishing feature of American growth. Our development has been equally marked by internal upbuilding and by external enlargement. Our earlier expansions were contiguous. We had to span the continent and fill the space between the seas. We had to have the wide continental base for a great power. Our later expansions have been over the sea, and they have been as opportune and as logical in their time as the others were in theirs. In former days we needed room; now we need commerce. Then we wanted land for breadth and growth; now we want the sea and sea footholds for the open-door to markets.

Our colonial development and our world-influence have come together. I do not say that one was the cause of the other, but they sprang from the same origin. I know it has been said on the platform of this Academy, which is a free platform, that the United States became a world-power as soon as it entered the family of nations. That delusion flatters American vanity, but it is shattered by historical verity. It is quite true that the United States extended its arm out into the world in the early days. It is true that Decatur and Bainbridge chased the Barbary pirates to their lair, and that their daring exploits in the Mediterranean shed new luster on the American flag. It is true that Captain Ingraham took Martin Koszta, as an adopted American citizen, from the deck of an Austrian frigate. But these acts, and acts like them, were simply the assertion and protection of American rights. They were not the participation of the United States in world affairs.

The first real participation of the United States in the great arena of world affairs was at the time of the Chinese embroglio in 1900, and we were able to go into China because we had already gone into the Philippines. We were there by right, and we were there with force, because we had troops nearby. The whole development which led up to this demonstration was a logical movement. We had to have world-interests before we could be a world-power. We had to be a world-power before we could sit at the world's

council table, and we had to sit at the world's council table before we could become in part (let us say it very modestly) the world's peacemaker. We were already dominating the affairs of the western world, because we were the great western power, and before we could exercise a voice in the East we had to be an eastern power.

Had there been, before that time, a Russo-Japanese War, before whose awful destruction the world stood aghast, we should not have seen the commissioners of the warring powers sent to meet on American soil, under the influence of a masterful American President, who, from his point of vantage, and with the disinterestedness of the United States behind him, skillfully and successfully led the way to the restoration of peace. In those days the diplomatic mission to Washington was regarded generally by the powers as an inferior post instead of being treated, as it now is, as the most dignified, honorable and important of positions, to which Great Britain, in recognition of its high rank, sends as her representative one of her most brilliant scholars, and one of her ablest statesmen. That government could have made no appointment so acceptable to the American people. It could have made none which carried so fine a tribute to the American nation. It could have made none so peculiarly significant of the friendly sentiment, the intelligent understanding, and the sympathetic goodwill which prevail between these two countries. That distinguished representative is the ambassador not merely to the American government, but to the American people in the large sense, and it has been gratifying to us to observe how clearly and distinctly and successfully he has recognized that mission. Great Britain is the foremost of colonial powers, and it is signally fit and fortunate that at this session, devoted to the discussion of colonial questions, we should be honored by his presence. It is my privilege and honor to convey to him the greetings of the Academy and of this great assemblage. We shall listen to his words of wisdom and information on this subject with profound gratification, and I have great pleasure in presenting to you, as permanent honorary chairman of this meeting, his excellency the Right Honorable James Bryce, British Ambassador to the United States.

PROFESSOR CARL KELSEY.

Ladies and Gentlemen: To secure effective administration is relatively easy; to bring about the development of a people, accompanied as it must be by the changing of old customs and ideas, is very difficult. Is it not ludicrous to extol the success of Taft in Cuba, for example, then to complain that in less than two years the system has gone to pieces? I apprehend that before we are done with our island possessions we shall learn several lessons in social progress.

The developments of the last half century have brought us face to face with great groups of race problems. In Porto Rico, Alaska, Hawaii, the Philippines we must deal with groups who, like the Germans of old, "differ among themselves in language, institutions and laws." We have rather vain-gloriously started out to "Americanize" these peoples—whatever that may be. Few people doubt the possibility of advance for any group, but whether such

advance will lead to the adoption of our peculiar ideas and institutions is at least open to discussion.

England has given India a good administration, but the English were, perhaps, never more hated than they are to-day by the natives. We must recall that we are professedly seeking not the utmost development of the Philippines, but of the Filipino. The success of such friendly aid in the case of the Maori in New Zealand, the Zulus and Caffirs of South Africa, not to mention the Caribs of the West Indies, the Kanakas of Hawaii, or the Indians of North America, should not make us too sanguine—even those specially imported Africans still constitute a problem at our very doors whose solution is far from being one of administrative methods.

In a word, the growth of a civilization must be from within—not imposed from without. It may be stimulated, helped, fostered, but not imposed. We must be agents of discontent if progress is to come. These changes will cause great problems which in their turn may destroy the whole process.

If we can approach our task in the islands in this spirit we may well hope to be instrumental in producing good results. We must get rid of the shallow optimism, however, which discounts the peculiar history and environment of these subject peoples, and prepare for a long and often unsuccessful campaign.

MR. E. W. LORD.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I am glad to have the opportunity to speak for a few moments in regard to Porto Rico, largely because this afternoon's program seems to be devoted so entirely to the Philippines that I fear that the smaller and nearer island may be entirely forgotten. Perhaps we may rely upon the rule that the attraction varies inversely with the square of the distance. If that is true, our interest in Porto Rico may not be less than our interest in the Philippines, for it is certainly much nearer, and that may serve to attract us the more to its problems. A great many people are not aware that Porto Rico is not a part of the Philippines; every week mail comes to us addressed, "San Juan, Porto Rico, Philippine Islands." I received a letter one or two weeks ago from the editor of one of the most prominent literary journals of the United States, so addressed.

I am going to speak to you briefly and prosily for a few moments on the public school system of Porto Rico. First, then, as to the system which we used to have. You are undoubtedly familiar with the fact that under the Spanish administration very little attention was given to educational work. There were no schoolhouses in Porto Rico. There was just one house in the island which was used exclusively for school purposes, and that was a dwelling house which had been given by a lady to the public schools of her town. The Spanish custom was to employ a teacher and pay him, besides his salary, a certain sum which he should use to hire a house, and then he would gather pupils around him for such instruction as he saw fit to give them. It was a very excellent way to provide the teacher with a house for himself, his family and his friends. In our opinion it was not a very satisfactory system for the pupil, and as soon as possible we began to get some buildings. The first work

which came to the American administration was to provide buildings; at first this was largely done by hiring dwelling houses, but as soon as possible we began to build, and to-day, in almost every town, we have at least one substantial brick or stone building of from four to eight rooms, and several small one-room buildings, and the number of buildings is increasing very rapidly.

We have organized now a system of schools very similar to that prevailing in the United States. We have, in our graded schools, eight grades. We have three high schools, and I may say that the San Juan High School sends pupils, on certificate, to all the leading American colleges. We have a normal school, which is a department of the University of Porto Rico, which is not yet the Spanish-American center of culture of which Dr. Brumbaugh spoke in his address yesterday, but it may provide the foundation for such an institution if that shall ever be formed. At the present time there is no attempt to give anything higher than a high school education. Our teachers are both American and Porto Rican. Very many of the remarks which Dr. Barrows has made this afternoon in regard to the work in the Philippines apply with equal truth to Porto Rico. We realize that the Porto Rican teacher is the one upon whom we must rely for final salvation. We have a much smaller number than in the Philippines, of course. At the present time we are employing about 1,200 teachers—1,000 native and 200 Americans. I can speak in the highest terms of our American teachers as Dr. Barrows can of his. Our American teachers are hard-working, earnest missionaries of education, and the results of their work are increasingly evident. Some of them have had to put up with rather hard conditions. In the early days they went to strange places, knowing nothing of the Spanish language, among people who knew nothing of their language, and they sometimes found it hard to find places where they could live comfortably.

There are about 60,000 scholars in our schools at the present time. That is not the whole number of children of school age. There are not less than 300,000 of school age, but that is counting from the very lowest, 5, to the highest, 17 or 18 years of age, and of course we could not expect, in any case, to provide school accommodations for all of them, old and young, alike. No school system in the world makes such provision. We estimate that we have, at the present time, accommodations for about sixty per cent of those who really ought to be in school. We are increasing the number provided for slowly. The local legislature is doing everything in its power to add to the number of schools. They have increased the appropriation from year to year; I do not remember what the first appropriation was—I believe it was about \$300,000 for common school salaries; this year it was made \$500,000. That was for common schools alone, and in addition there are various high schools, agricultural schools, and various other special lines of work.

We have a large proportion of white pupils in our schools—at least three whites to one colored—that is, according to the records. Sometimes if you go into a school and look around it is hard to tell where the whites are, or to tell the difference between the white and the colored, for it is often very hard to tell whether a pupil is white or colored. We are obliged to record the number

of colored and white teachers, and so have our superintendents include that data in their reports. Once a teacher who had been reported as white one month was reported as colored the next. We found it necessary to issue a rule that any teachers who wished to change color should do so only during the summer vacation. One of the superintendents hit back at us with a suggestion that, to avoid further difficulty and embarrassment, we have a color chart provided for all degrees of color from white to black, so that he might report "Shade No. 1" or "Tint No. 17."

The great work which we are trying to do in Porto Rico is to Americanize the island. We did not at the outset make English the language of the schools, because Spanish was universally spoken. We have, however, changed very gradually from Spanish to English, until, at the present time, in all graded schools, practically every grade above the first is taught entirely in English, either by a Porto Rican or an American teacher, or by both alternating. The system which we are endeavoring to follow from this time on is that the first grade shall be taught in Spanish, because many children go through the first grade and never go beyond that. It is better for these children to get all the instruction they can in the Spanish language. In the second grade all work is put into English. It is then carried on up through the eight grades. We find that the children quickly acquire English, and long before they reach the eighth grade they are using it fluently and easily. That is one of the greatest elements in the Americanization of the people. A large number of Porto Rican students go to the United States to study. The government maintains forty-five students here, and statistics show that yearly 450 more are here on their own resources. It is true, as Dr. Brumbaugh suggested yesterday, that many of these are in inferior schools. That is a matter which we have been unable to avoid, but even so I cannot feel that that time is wasted. They are learning something of American life—they are learning to be proud of the American name, and when they go back to Porto Rico they will spread American ideals.

Two or three little events have occurred in the last few weeks which show the trend toward Americanism. One of these, of which I wish to speak, is one which I consider especially significant. I attended, only a week before I left the island, the Insular Interscholastic Athletic Games, held at San Juan, in which athletes from the schools of several different towns met for interscholastic sports. From the outset it was evident that the team of the San Juan High School was in the best condition, and was best trained, and would probably win the prizes, but the teams from the Ponce High School and from the Insular Normal School did not stop work when they realized that fact. They kept right on to the end. They struggled for every inch, and although the San Juan team won, the others stood well. Those of you who are familiar with the Latin-American character know that that is a new development. The typical Latin-American will withdraw from a losing game, and I feel that we see in the results of these athletic games, more than in almost anything else I could tell you, the influence of American ideas. They are going to struggle—they are going to win.

PROFESSOR SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow Members of the Academy: With the session to-night we close our Eleventh Annual Meeting. Before presenting the topic of the evening and introducing the speakers (which is the only excuse, I think, for a presiding officer), I would like to say a word about our program at this year's session. I feel that a word of acknowledgment is due to the Secretary of War, Hon. William H. Taft, who has taken a very keen interest in this program from the very beginning of its inception, who has co-operated with the officers of the Academy in arranging for the program, and who would have been here and have spoken himself had that been possible in addition to his many public duties, which, unfortunately for us, have just included a visit to Cuba, Porto Rico and the Isthmus, from which he returns to-day or to-morrow. He has already sent his regrets, which are more than reciprocated by us, that he is unable to get back in time to be present at this annual meeting.

I would also like to add a word of acknowledgment of the services rendered by General Clarence R. Edwards, the Chief of the Insular Bureau, who has also co-operated in every way with the program committee in arranging for the program, which I think has proven a most interesting one, in the discussion of a topic that is most vital.

I suppose that no logical order of addresses is possible in a program of this kind. We have attempted to discuss a few (and only a few) of the problems that present themselves in our own colonial experience. The special topic for the session this evening has to do with the legal and political problems affecting our dependencies. The difficulties of colonial government which have been pictured so vividly in the writings of many eminent Englishmen, and concerning which we have so illuminating an example in the history of England,—the difficulties which have been met fairly and in harmony with the traditions of Anglo-Saxon civilization, in ways pointed out by Mr. Bryce last night, are nowhere greater than they are when it comes to the legal and political problems involved in the relations of two peoples of different historical civilizations, perhaps of different races, and perhaps speaking different languages.

Legal and political institutions are the natural development of economic, social and racial conditions. It would therefore seem plain to any one that to transplant institutions that harmonize with any given experience, or with any particular historical experience, is almost an impossibility; and yet it is that very impossibility which any nation undertakes that begins colonization. It is that very impossibility that the pioneer and perhaps the greatest nation in colonization the world has ever known—the British Empire—has undertaken (as Mr. Bryce pointed out to us last night) in the establishment of law and order, and in the establishment of that respect for authority upon which Mr. Bryce laid so much emphasis as one of Great Britain's greatest achievements in the matter of colonial government.

Great Britain was unavoidably transplanting institutions that corresponded to and grew up, I may say, out of a certain historical experience of the peo-

ple who inhabit the British Isles, and transplanting them to a country where that experience did not exist. I shall not attempt to anticipate what may be said in the papers and addresses that will be presented here to-night. To illustrate in one respect the nature of the legal and political problems we now have under discussion, I may cite the question of citizenship, a question that already has played a very important part in the development of our relations with the Island of Porto Rico.

I have listened to some of the most impassioned oratory from the native Porto Ricans—Porto Ricans of great intelligence and intellectual power—who have asked for American citizenship and have said frankly, when it was pointed out to them, that to obtain American citizenship would entail a very great pecuniary sacrifice on their part as a people, that they cared not what the cost might be. Sentiment was dearer to them than any mere advantage of revenue or of a mercenary and commercial character. They desired American citizenship at any price. Many of our own people have frequently asked the question, Why should they not have American citizenship conferred upon them at once, or at least upon those of such intelligence and education as is now required of the foreigner who may become naturalized. Not a very high educational requirement, to be sure, but with some such simple requirement as that, why not? And, of course, the perfectly obvious answer from those who have had to do with the administration of the legal machinery of government in an island like Porto Rico, is that citizenship means a certain relation to fundamental law and fundamental custom, and that American citizenship in this sense does not exactly fit the situation as yet in Porto Rico. It is not because there is any lack of desire on the part of American officials, or on the part of the American government, or on the part of that which is greater than either of these—the American people—to give to the people of Porto Rico anything that we can give that may be to their advantage, but because we hesitate to give them something that does not correspond to their own experience or to their own historical development. For these reasons alone many Americans think that it is best to wait awhile until with the progress of the institutional growth and development coming very largely through education, the Porto Rican people are in a position to understand, safeguard and use the privileges of citizenship as we enjoy them here.

I have referred to the question of citizenship in Porto Rico simply as an illustration of some of the difficulties that arise from differences in institutions, that are due to differences in racial, institutional and political history. It is impossible to bridge them over in a day. We must not be impatient for too rapid results in the adaptation of our institutional life to the widely different historical background in the countries we try to colonize. Such adaptation, if possible at all, constitutes one of the very gravest problems in colonial life, and the temporary adjustment of these difficulties constitutes one of the greatest administrative problems.

It is to some of these problems that we are to address ourselves to-night. The first speaker on the program is one who needs no introduction to the members of the Academy, one who is known widely in the university and

academic circles of this country for his scholarship, who is known, also, perhaps still more widely for his signal services to our government as treasurer of Porto Rico and as special agent of our government in certain very complicated relations with San Domingo. While the topic which he will present may not seem to have a logical place upon a program dealing chiefly with our own dependencies because San Domingo is in no sense a dependency of the United States, the question which he has consented to discuss is one of unusual and vital interest to us. Its existence indicates a certain extension of American influence to say the least, and it represents also our dealing with a country that has come into somewhat closer relations to us by reason of its geographical location as well as its political and social condition. I take pleasure in presenting to you, as the first speaker of the evening, Professor Hollander, of Johns Hopkins University, who will speak to us upon "The Recent Conventions between the United States and the Dominican Republic."

The other speakers of the evening program of April 20 were subsequently presented by Professor Lindsay and included Mr. Paul Charlton, Major Seaman and Hon. Herbert Parsons.